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THE ALLEGED INDO-IRANIAN NAMES IN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

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The discoveries of Winckler¹ at Boghaz-köi in 1906 and 1907 turned the attention of scholars again with keener interest to the supposed Indo-Iranian or Iranian names of the Amarna letters.² A series of articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,³ based on the articles of Winckler and of Meyer, drew far-reaching and important conclusions concerning the Rig Veda, and a map was published by Gemoll³ giving the "nachweisbare Ausdehnung der

¹ Reported in *OLZ*, 1906, col. 621 f. and *MDOG*, 35. See also his important articles, "Die Arier in den Urkunden von Boghaz-köi," *OLZ*, 1910, cols. 289-301, and "Vorderasien im zweiten Jahrtausend," *MVAG*, 1913, No. IV, pp. 76 f.

² Comparisons were first made by Bezold and Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, 1892, pp. 144, 146, and by Rost, "Das sogenannte Mederreich und das Emporkommen der Perser," *MVAG*, 1897, No. II, pp. 113, 216. The names were treated at greater length by Hommel, "Hethiter und Skythen und das erste Auftreten der Iranier in der Geschichte," *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Prag*, 1898, No. VI; in Oberhummer und Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, 1899, pp. 422-25; in the *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, ed. 2, 1904, p. 29; by Scheffelowitz, "Die Sprache der Kossäer," *ZVS*, XXXVIII (1905), pp. 260 f.; Meyer, "Die ältesten datierten Zeugnisse der iranischen Sprache," *ZVS*, XLII (1908-9), pp. 1 f.; "Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte," *Sitz. Berl. Ak.*, 1908, pp. 14-19; *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, ed. 2 (1909), pp. 580, 601, 802; by Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, 1914, pp. xix-xxxii. The comparisons made by Ball, "Iranian Names among the Hetta-Hatte," *PSBA*, X (1887-88), 424-36, are too vague and general to be considered.

³ Jacobi, "The Antiquity of Vedic Culture," *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 721 f.; Oldenberg, *ibid.*, pp. 1095 f.; Keith, *ibid.*, pp. 1100 f.; Kennedy, "The Prehistoric Aryans and the Kings of Mitani," *ibid.*, pp. 1107 f.; Konow, "The Classification of Bashgali," *ibid.*, 1911, pp. 1 f. (especially p. 44).

³ *Grundsteine zur Geschichte Israels*, 1911.

Harri-Arier" and the "wahrscheinliche wirkliche Ausdehnung der Harri-Arier"—a map warranted by no proof adduced in the book. A large number of books and articles quote Hommel, Scheftelowitz, Winckler, and Meyer, assume that the fact has been proved, and without any linguistic queries draw far-reaching historical conclusions.¹ Speculation has so far outrun fact that fact has almost been lost sight of. So far as I can see the names do not, as yet, come within the domain of the historian. The matters involved are purely linguistic ones. If etymologizing in a well-known language is hazardous, it is triply dangerous when the words have been transcribed into a strange script and when one of the languages is but imperfectly known. Here we are dealing with Hittite, Mitannian, Cassite, and perhaps other imperfectly known languages. If, when Hittite and Mitannian are better known, no elements are found which will explain the supposed Indo-Iranian names, then the probability will be increased that the names are Indo-Iranian. Bloomfield,² after a crushing criticism of Scheftelowitz³ attempt to connect Cassite with the Indo-European languages, says that the Indo-European character of the Amarna names is "self-evident" and that "nothing clearer can be imagined." He did not apply to the names in question the same rigorous philological criticism as that to which he had just subjected the Cassite names.

It is the aim of this paper to put the whole inquiry on a sounder philological basis by comparing, more closely than has yet been done, the alleged Indo-Iranian names with known Mitannian and Hittite

¹ The etymologies are accepted, without due criticism, in such books as Prašek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, I (1906), 26; Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, I (1905), 107, and II (1907), 584; Bloomfield, *The Religion of the Veda*, 1908, p. 12; Hüsing, *Die iranische Überlieferung*, 1908, p. 91; Feist, *Europa im Lichte der Vorgeschichte*, 1910, p. 16; Dhorme, "Les Aryens avant Cyrus," in *Conférences de Saint-Étienne*, 1910-11, pp. 59-104; Brunnhofer, *Das Buch der hundert Pfade*, 1910, p. 40; Böhl, *Kanaander und Hebräer*, 1911, pp. 16-17; Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, 1911, p. 46; Gemoll, *Die Indogermanen im alten Orient*, 1911, pp. 94 f.; King, *History of Babylon*, p. 227, n. 2; Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1911, p. 45; Feist, *Kultur und Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, 1913, pp. 67-68; Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 1913, p. 201; Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, ed. 6 (1915), pp. 112-13; Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, 1916, p. 2. Sayce, "The Names of Vedic Deities on a Hittite Tablet," *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1106-7, and Halévy, "Les Aryens en Mésopotamie au 14th siècle préchrétien," *Rev. sem.*, XVI (1908), p. 247, deny all or part of the Indo-Iranian etymologies. Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period*, 1912, tacitly denies the Indo-Iranian etymologies by reckoning the elements involved as Hittite-Mitannian.

² "On Some Alleged Indo-European Languages in Cuneiform Character," *AJP*, XXV (1904), 1-15.

³ "Die Sprache der Kossäer," *ZVS*, XXXVIII (1905), 260-77. The article itself is dated 1901.

names.¹ Surely such a comparison should have been made and definitely answered in the negative before the Indo-Iranian origin of the names was accepted as certain. Further, the comparison with Sanskrit names should not have been a random one with any names—hypothetical or quotable only from the late classical period. If the names of four Vedic gods are really found at Boghaz-köi, it would seem that the comparisons should have been made only with certain or probable Vedic names.² The Rig Veda, which cannot on the whole be many centuries earlier or later than 1400 B.C., is the oldest Indo-Iranian text, the text nearest in date to the Boghaz-köi and Amarna documents. If the names are Indic or Indo-Iranian, the evidence of the Rig Veda must be carefully considered. We have no right to reconstruct the Indo-Iranian period and possible Indo-Iranian names entirely out of our own fancy or on the basis of haphazard etymologies. Sound philology demands that we argue from our earliest documents, and, if we try to go beyond them, that we keep close to the general tenor of ideas represented by them until there is proof of decided changes of thought between them and the earlier

¹ For the Amarna letters Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1907 f. (abbreviated *TA*), with the notes of Weber, and Knudtzon's transcription of the Mitannian letter, *BA*, IV (1902), 134–53, have been used. The most important collections of Mitannian names are those of Luckenbill, "Some Hittite and Mitannian Personal Names," *AJSL*, XXVI (1910), 96–104; Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period*, 1912; Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, 1914. See also the admirable article of Gustavs, "Bemerkungen zur Bedeutung und zum Bau von Mitanninamen," *OLZ*, 1912, cols. 241–46, 300–305, 350–56. The latest and most important works on the Mitannian language are those of Messerschmidt, "Mitanni-Studien," *MVAG*, 1899, pp. 175–308, and of Bork, "Die Mitannisprache," *MVAG*, 1909, pp. 1–126. So much uncertainty surrounds the attempts of Sayce, Jensen, Thompson, and others to decipher the Hittite hieroglyphics that only the Hittite names given by Luckenbill (from Egyptian transcription), by Winckler in *MDOG*, 35, and *OLZ*, 1910, and those found in the published Hittite cuneiform documents have been used. Important is Delitzsch, "Sumerisch-Akkadisch-Hettitische Vokabularfragmente," *Abh. Berl. Ak.*, 1914, No. III. If Delitzsch (p. 41) be right, "Ein verwandtschaftlicher Zusammenhang des Hettitischen mit der Mitannisprache dürfte aber schon jetzt mit Bestimmtheit in Abrede gestellt werden können, falls sich die Resultate der bisherigen Mitanni-Studien als verlässlich bewähren." The chief difficulty in comparing Mitannian names is due to the probability that the orthography is not uniform, that the orthography of the other documents is not as careful as that of the letters of Tušratta. Further, only a few of the Mitannian god-names are known, and the meaning of only a few elements is certain. In the present state of our knowledge many of the comparisons must be mechanical. There may be wide dialectic differences in Hittite and in Mitannian; and at present it is impossible to be sure whether a given name is Hittite or Mitannian. Important, also, are the names from Asia Minor collected by Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, 1896, and by Sundwall, "Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämme," *Klio*, Beiheft XI (1913). Unfortunately Sundwall does not indicate the place from which each name comes. Comparisons with these names are at least as pertinent as comparisons with classical Sanskrit names.

² There is a general treatment of Sanskrit names by Hilka, *Die altindischen Personennamen*, 1910. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, 146–77, and Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, 1912, list the Vedic names.

period which we are trying to reconstruct. For instance, there is no certain case (in India) of a name containing *rta* as an element before *Ārtabhāga* of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 3, 2, 1. 13 (cf. 6, 5, 2)—the name of a priest (ca. 600 B.C.?). The concept of *rta* is present in the *Rig Veda*, but plays no really conspicuous part in the *Agni* and *Soma* ritual of the Vedic religion as it does in the *Avesta*. Oldenberg¹ claims that the conception of *rta* and the figures of *Varuṇa* and the *Ādityas* were borrowed from *Babylonia*; and it is thought by some that an earlier ethical *Varuṇa* cult was supplanted by the less ethical *Indra* cult (if the *Boghaz-köi* names are Indo-Iranian, *Varuṇa* and *Indra* are on a par at that time); but this is merely theory (itself in need of confirmation by definite evidence), on which no far-reaching historical conclusions should be based. No king-names of the *Rig Veda* show decided traces of ethical elements, as do the names of the later Zoroastrian kings of *Persia*. The three or four names compounded with the general term *deva* are not at all parallel to the *arta*-names. If the comparison of the *arta*-names is valid, and if the Indo-Iranian kings commonly used such names, there must have been a much stronger ethical element in the aristocratic religion of the Indo-Iranian period than we have any warrant for in the *Rig Veda*. What would be the relation of these *arta*-names to the religion founded by *Zoroaster*? Not even Meyer ventures to suggest a date earlier than 1000 B.C. for the ethical reform of *Zoroaster*. Much more and stronger proof is needed before it will be possible to accept royal *arta*-names for the period preceding *Zoroaster*. Even if *arta* be taken in the sense of "law," without ethical implications, there are no names in the *Rig Veda* which offer confirmation. The Iranian *arta*-names from the ninth century B.C. and after (Meyer, *ZVS*, XLII, 13-14) may be later than *Zoroaster*, and in any case do not prove the certainty of *arta*-names four or five hundred years earlier. The whole setting of Vedic life is utterly different from that revealed by the letters of *Tuśratta* and by the documents from *Boghaz-köi*. Only in these few names is there even a superficial resemblance between the two bodies of literature. If there were any proof of a complete absorption of the supposed Indo-Iranian language and civilization by the language and civilization of *Mitanni*, the

¹ *Religion des Veda*, pp. 285-98.

matter would be different. But a dynasty which furnished at least five successive generations of kings,¹ and which showed such Aryan pride (if *Harri* really does mean Aryan)² as is revealed by the constantly recurring phrases—"Mattiuaza, der Sohn des Königs, und die (amelûti) *har-ri*," "Mattiuaza . . . und wir, die *mârê har-ri*," "Mattiuaza und wir die (amelûti) *har-ri* und das Land Mitanni"³—would surely have kept its Aryan gods and some at least of its distinctive Aryan customs. In the Amarna letters from Mitanni (of the supposed Indo-Iranian Tušratta), although Mitannian, Egyptian, and Babylonian gods are frequently mentioned, there is no reference to any Aryan god. If the *Harri*, as is claimed by Winckler, formed a strong Aryan warrior aristocracy which laid such great stress on its Aryan race, there would surely be more Aryan traces in the Tušratta letters and in the Hittite compacts. Moreover, the earliest Indian architecture in stone comes from the third century B.C. If the Indo-Iranian period is to be localized in Armenia in the fourteenth century B.C., or if any considerable body of Indo-Iranians were in contact with the civilization of the Hittites, Mitannians, or Cassites, is it not likely that we would have traces of stone architecture in India from the time of the Rig Veda? Of course we might think of a dynasty of Aryans who had come westward out of India or of a small group which had separated from the main body of Indo-Iranians, if the evidence makes that conclusion necessary. These are all fundamental questions which should have been considered more carefully than they have been. The supposed traces of Aryan elements in Hittite mythology⁴ (as represented in the sculpture) are too vague to be considered. The present criticism is directed against the theories that the names are Indic or Indo-Iranian.

Let us turn first to the compounds of *arta*, which are regarded as furnishing conclusive proof, and which are used to enhance the

¹ See Winckler, *MDOG*, 35, p. 37.

² For instance Dhorme, *Rev. bibl.*, 1909, p. 502; Sayce, *JRAS*, 1909, p. 1107; Hommel, *Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1909, p. 757, read *Murri*. Further, although in the later inscriptions *Arya* is transcribed as *Har-ri-ia*, there is in the form *Har-ri* no reflection of the suffix *ya*, which is an integral part of the word. In *mariannu(i)*, on the other hand, if it be connected with *Marya*, and if a suffix *ia* be involved, and in such supposed Indo-Iranian names as *Ar-la-ma-an-ia* and *Ru-uš-ma-an-ia*, the suffix *ya* is represented. The discrepancy is significant.

³ *OLZ*, 1910, cols. 295-97. In the last quotation, as admitted by Winckler himself (*MVAG*, 1913, No. IV, p. 66), it is clear "dass der Begriff eines Harri-Staates sich nicht mit dem von Mitanni gedeckt hat."

⁴ See Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 330-31.

probability of less certain comparisons—*Ar-ta-ta-a-ma*, TA 24, III, 52. 29, 16; MDOG, 35, p. 36. OLZ, 1910, col. 294; *Ar-ta-aš-[š]u-ma-ra* TA 17, 19; *Ar-ta-ma-an-ia*, TA 201, 3; *Ar-ta-ia*, OLZ, 1910, col. 292; *Da-a-šar-ti-i*, TA 162, 76, in a list of names which is almost certainly Mitannian.¹ The name *Ar-te-e-eš-šu-pa* or [*Ar-t*]e-eš-šu-pa, TA 24, IV, 36. 29, 173, which used to be taken as a compound of *arta*, is evidently a compound of Mitannian *ar(i)* “give” and the god-name *Tešup*.² The name read *Abdi-Hiba* by Knudtzon, TA 285–90, the first element of which has been read *arta*, *arda*, or *Put-i*,³ is too uncertain to be included. *Ar-te-eš-šu-pa* might be used as proof that all these names beginning with *arta* are compounds of *ar(i)*,⁴ but the names *Ar-ta-ia* and *Da-a-šar-ti-i* show that the first element may be the derivative *arta*. A form *arti*, from the root *ar*, is a common Mitannian word meaning “gift.”⁵ If the discussion by Gustavs, OLZ, 1912, cols. 300–305, of Mitannian *penti* and *penta* has any validity, it is possible to take *arta* in these names as a derivative of *ar*, either verbal or nominal.⁶ That the first element may be *arta* is borne out by the second element of the name *Ar-ta-ma-an-ia* compared with *Ma-an-ia*, TA 162, 72, and *Ru-uš-ma-an-ia*, TA 241, 3. Scheftelowitz (p. 271) compares *Ar-ta-ma-an-ia* to Ἀρταμένης and derives from *arta* and *mainya* “an Arta glaubend.” But in names such as *A-ḥa-ma-ni-iš* (cf. Tallqvist, p. 294b) μένης appears, in later cuneiform at least, as *ma-ni-iš*. In classical Sanskrit *manya* enters freely into composition in the sense “thinking oneself to be, appearing as.” In the Rig Veda the word occurs only once in the compound

¹ See Weber, p. 1268; Clay, p. 29b, 30a, 171a; Tallqvist, p. 272a.

² See Weber, pp. 1044, 1071; Luckenbill, p. 98; Clay, p. 29b; Tallqvist, pp. 31a, 271a; Bork, OLZ, 1906, col. 589; Ungnad, BA, VI, 5, pp. 8–9. For names from Asia Minor containing the element *ari(a, u)*, see Kretschmer, p. 368, and Sundwall, pp. 53–54.

³ See Hommel, Sitz. böhm. Gesell., 1898, p. 10, and Grundriss, p. 29, n. 3; Weber, p. 1333; Winckler, MDOG, 35, p. 48; Luckenbill, p. 96; Böhl, Kanaanäer und Hebräer, pp. 15, 29; Dhorme, Rev. bibl., 1909, p. 62; Reinach, Rev. arch., 1910, pp. 54, 57; Gustavs, OLZ, 1911, col. 341.

⁴ See Luckenbill, p. 97, but compare p. 101.

⁵ See Bork, Die Mitannischsprache, pp. 82, 124–26—*att-ar-ti*, *el-ar-ti*, *irin-ar-ti*, *wirat-ar-ti*, *mari-ann-ar-ti-lan*, and [*z*]u-gi-it-ta-ar-ti-aš, TA 24, IV, 100.

⁶ *Arta(i)* is accepted as a Mitannian element by Weber, p. 1268, and by Clay, p. 29b. Tallqvist, p. xxix (cf. p. 272a), takes *arta* as a Hittite-Mitannian element in names like *Ar-du-me-en-ni*, *Ar-du-ba*, and doubtfully in *Urarṭu* and *Ku-mu-ur-da-a-a*, but (pp. xxi–xxii) regards it as Iranian in the names *Ar-ta-aš-šu-ma-ra*, *Ar-ta-ma-an-ia*, and *Ar-ta-ta-a-ma*. If there is a good Mitannian element *arti(ta)*, with a perfectly satisfactory etymology and satisfactory meaning as an element in proper names, there is no reason at all for considering *arta* to be Indo-Iranian in these particular names, unless the other elements of the names make that conclusion absolutely necessary. Compare also the *arta*-names from Asia Minor collected by Sundwall, pp. 75–77, and the remarks on p. 281.

punar-manya (*Pet. Lex.*, "sich erinnernd"). *Mānya* in classical Sanskrit is passive "to be revered." In the few cases in which the word occurs in the Veda¹ it is taken by Roth as a proper name (a patronymic from *Māna*), by Grassmann as an adjective, "sinnig, dichterisch." *Ma-an-ia* as the second element of the compounds could not represent the patronymic *Mānya*; *Ma-an-ia* by itself can hardly be separated from the compound names, and Sanskrit *manya*, "thinking," is not a convincing proper name. *Ru-uš-ma-an-ia* is derived by Scheftelowitz (p. 271) from Sanskrit *rucimanya* "ans licht glaubend," ai. *ruc*, *ruci*, av. *raocah*, ap. *raucah* "licht, tag." According to Tallqvist (p. xxiv) Iranian *č* becomes *š* in Babylonian and Assyrian (*raucah* becomes *ru-šu*). It is very doubtful whether *š* could represent Sanskrit *c*. There is, however, a participial form *ruçat* from *ruç* (a parallel form to *ruc*) and a proper name *Ruçama*.² However, unless *ma-an-ia* (in all three cases) can be proved to be Indo-Iranian, there is no reason for pressing the comparison to *ruc* or *ruç*. Further, *ia* is a characteristic Mitannian hypocoristic ending.³ There is no need of connecting it with Indo-Iranian *ya*. *Ma-an* may be related to Cassite *man* or *ma-an* in names containing the element *Kadašman*.⁴ Compare also *Ma-na-pa-Tešub*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 19,⁵ and the names given by Tallqvist (p. 294a) under the Hittite-Cassite element *mana*. *Ma-an* may be an element in the city-name *Ka-aš-ta-ma-an*, *Babyloniaca*, IV, 218. Sundwall (pp. 141-42) and Kretschmer (p. 198) give names from Asia Minor containing the element *mana*. Dhorme, *Rev. bibl.*, 1909, p. 61, connects *Ma-an-ia* with Phrygian *μαρία* "beautiful" (Kretschmer, pp. 198, 200).⁶ However that may be, there is no need of seeking an Indo-Iranian cognate for *ma-an*. For *ru-uš* there is no certain comparison. Is it to be connected with *e-ru-uš-ki-i-in-na*, *TA* 24, I, 97, 100?

¹ See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, II, 152-53.

² See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, 225.

³ See Ungnad, *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 10-12, 80, and Gustavs, *OLZ*, 1912, col. 352. If Gustavs is right in his derivation of the hypocoristic suffix *ia* from the potential stem, *ma-an* ought to be a verb. It may be so; but it is by no means certain as yet that every element to which *ia* is attached must be verbal.

⁴ See Luckenbill, p. 97; Tallqvist, pp. 110a, 294a under *mana*. Pinches, *The Tablet from Yuzgat*, pp. 16-17, suggests that *man* may mean "my" and that *kadašman* may mean "my help."

⁵ For *pa* compare *Ma-zi-pa-a-at-li*, *TA* 29, 156. The elements seem to be *mazi* and *atli* (Tallqvist, pp. 273a, 293b).

⁶ Followed by Weber, p. 1294, and by Reinach, *Rev. arch.*, 1910, p. 54.

The function of the *e* is uncertain. Compare *Tu-uš-rat-ta* (to be discussed later) and the variant *Tu-iš-e-rat-ta*.

It is doubtful whether the penultimate *a* of *Ar-ta-ta-a-ma* is long or short.¹ Scheftelowitz (p. 270) derives from the superlative of *arta*, "most virtuous," or from *ṛtadhāmā* "Arta liebend." Konow, *JRAS*, 1911, p. 44, derives from a Sanskrit root *tam*, "to desire," given in the Dhātupāṭha, but not in actual use in any preserved Sanskrit text. *Ṛtadhāman* does occur as an epithet of Vishnu and of Indra in late texts (cf. *Pet. Lex.*, s.v.), but there seems to be no trace of such a usage of *dhāman* earlier. The name means "wahren Wesens." *Dhāman* is a noun meaning "place, abode, light, majesty, power, state or condition, law." There is no authority for "liebend" as a meaning of *dhāman*. In view of the uncertainties regarding the unquotable roots of the Dhātupāṭha—some of which do doubtless represent roots which have passed out of use, some of which may have been invented by grammarians to explain obscure words—the etymology of Konow carries little weight. The first element of the name may be either *ar(i)* or *arta*. For the second element I can find no sure Mitannian parallel. A number of compound roots listed by Bork (pp. 61, 124–26) show a form *ama* or *am*—*pali-ama*, *supi-ama*, *šur-ama*, *irk-ama*, *em-an-am*, *čaru-am*. We may have here a similar amplification of the root *tat*. Again, there is an optative element *ma* (Bork, p. 11, and Gustavs, *OLZ*, 1912, col. 356), and before a verbal ending the vowel of the stem seems to be doubled (Bork, p. 32). Or it may be *arta* plus some amplification of the element *ta*. Compare the names *Ta-e*, *Ta-e-na*, *Ta-i-šenni*, *Ta-i-Tilla*, *Ta-ia-u*, given by Tallqvist (p. 310) under *ta* or *da* (cf. p. xxx under *ta*, *te*, *du*); *Ta-u-as-ya-il*, *The Tablet from Yuzgat*, p. 46; the names from Asia Minor in *ta* given by Sundwall (p. 198). Again, since many Mitannian roots show a doubling of the medial *a* (*ta-a-ta* from *tat*, *ta-a-na* from *tan*, *ša-a-ru* and *ša-a-ri* from *šar* [Messerschmidt, pp. 129, 131–32]), it may be that an unknown root *tam* is involved. Compare also the element *tama* in names from Asia Minor (Sundwall, pp. 201–2) and the Cassite name *Tam-ma-šaddar*, classed by Tallqvist (p. 311b) under the Mitannian-Cassite element *tama*, *temi*, *timi*.

¹ Bork, *MVAG*, 1909, p. 25, note, as opposed to Meyer, *ZVS*, XLII, 19, believes that the writing *ta-a* does not prove that the *a* is long.

These comparisons are all random and mechanical ones and allow of no certain conclusions. They do, however, show the possibility of a Mitannian or Hittite derivation.¹

In view of the cognates of *Da-ša* given under *Bi-ri-da-aš-wa* it seems certain that *arta(ti)* is the second element of the name *Da-a-šar-ti-i*. The only Sanskrit parallel for the first element that occurs to me is *dāsa* "slave." It is impossible that a word with this meaning should enter into composition with *arta*.

Tallqvist (p. xxi) derives *Ar-ta-aš-šu-ma-ra* from Sanskrit *ṛta* plus *smara* "remembering the law." Scheftelowitz (p. 270), taking the now abandoned reading *šu-wa-ra*, derives from *arta-su-vara* "Arta recht bekennend." A derivation from *svar* or *suar* "heaven, light" (based on the same discarded reading), has been suggested; but as Meyer (*ZVS*, XLII, 26, n. 1) has said, "auch sachlich ist die Verbindung von *arta* mit dem Namen der Sonne kaum denkbar." *Mara*, like the *mar* or *mari* of *Mariannu* (to be discussed later), might conceivably be connected with Sanskrit *Marut* or *marya*, but that would leave *aš-šu* hanging in the air. For the Mitannian element *aš-šu* compare the following names given by Clay (p. 29b) and by Tallqvist (p. 272b): *Aš-šu-te-mi*, *As-su-e*, *As-sul-la*, *As-su-me*, *Ša-ma-aš-še*, and perhaps *Ta-wa-aš-ši*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 29.² See also *aš-šu-mi-ia*, *TA* 32, 11; *aš-šu-u-li*, *TA* 32, 18; *ta-ba-aš-šu-un*, *TA* 31, 25.³ Compare the names from Asia Minor in *aza* given by Sundwall (p. 57). For a Mitannian element *ta-aš-šu* see the name *Ta-aš-šu*, *TA* 56, 16, and the cognates under *Bi-ri-da-aš-wa*. For Mitannian *mara* compare the verb *mara-tu-li* or *mara-du-ur*, *TA* 24, III, 10, and the other cognates given under *Mariannu*. Compare also the names in *mara* from Asia Minor (Sundwall, pp. 141-44) and especially *Σομμαρσὸνδης* (Kretschmer, p. 366). A name of similar formation is *Hal-pa-aš-šu-lu-bi* (*MDOG*, 35, p. 19). The first element is *Halpa* (Tallqvist, p. 284a). Are there two elements or only one in the second part of the name? The names *A-ri-lu(?) -ub Lu-pa-ak-ku* (Clay, p. 58b; *TA* 170, 15), and the Hittite elements

¹ Spiegelberg, *ZA*, VI, 166, suggests that the name *r-aš-dā-m*, found in an Egyptian text from the end of the nineteenth dynasty, may represent *Ar-ta-ta-a-ma*.

² Delitzsch (p. 24) gives a Hittite word *wa-aš-ši*. The name may be *ta* plus *wa-aš-ši* or *ta-aš-ši* with infixed *wa* (cf. Weber, p. 1117).

³ The reading of Sayce and Pinches, *The Tablet from Yuzgat*, p. 42, in place of *iš-ta-ba-aš-šu-un* of Knudtzon. Compare the Hittite element *taba* (Tallqvist, p. 310b).

luba, *lupa* (Tallqvist, p. xxx), seem to point to the first alternative; but Tallqvist (p. 308a) compares *šu-lu-bi* to *zlbba* in names from Asia Minor (Sundwall, p. 250). Compare also *Šu-na-aš-šu-ra*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 33, and *OLZ*, 1906, col. 630. Is it with Tallqvist (p. 309) *šuna* plus *šura*, or is the second element *aššu* plus the suffix *ra*? Tallqvist (p. 309a) lists *Šar-ma-aš-šu-un* under *šuna*, but the second element may be *aššu*. There is at any rate definite evidence for Hittite-Mitannian elements *ar(i)*, *arta*, *aššu*, *taššu*, and *mara*, however they are to be combined in this name. Why manufacture Indo-Iranian cognates? And yet the Mitannian scholar Bork (*OLZ*, 1916, col. 89) not only accepts the *arta*-names as Indo-Iranian, but adds to them the comparison of *Lu-a-am-ba-du-ra* (*OLZ*, 1910, col. 292) with the late Sanskrit *Lambodara* "pot-bellied"!

There is no Sanskrit form *rtaya*, to which *Ar-ta-ia* could be compared.¹ In this name *ia* is the Mitannian hypocoristic ending.

Bi-ri-da-aš-wa, *TA* 196, 41, and 197, 7, 15, 33 (given by Tallqvist [p. 64b] as *Bi-ri-da-aš-ia* (*wa, pi!*)),² has been compared by Böhl (after Thierry)³ to the Sanskrit epic name *Bṛhadaçva* "possessing great horses." Tallqvist (p. xxi, n. 11) rejects the comparison: "For, if the name *Zirdamiašda*, as appears, contains the Iranian word *zere*d 'heart' (Ind. *hrd*), it proves that Ind. *h* in Mitanni was changed into *z*, and accordingly *h* also in *Bṛhadaçva* ought to be written as *z*." In the later names *Bi-ri-iz-ḥa-at-ri* and *Bar-zi-ia* (Tallqvist, p. 276a) Iranian *z* of *bereza* is reflected as *z* in cuneiform. The words prove nothing at all about a change of Sanskrit *h* to *z*. Tallqvist suggests (after Reuter) a derivation from Sanskrit *pr̥d-açva*. *Prt* means battle, but is very restricted in use. It occurs in the derivative *pr̥tanā* (by itself and in compounds); in the simple word only in the locative plural *pr̥tsu*. Several names containing the element *açva* are found in the Rig Veda; but in consideration of the following parallels Tallqvist's etymology carries no conviction. Further, if Weber (p. 1117) be right in taking *Da-ša* as a shortened form of *Bi-ri-da-aš-wa*, the *d* must be taken with the second element. For *bi-ri* or *bi-ir* (Clay, p. 166b, and Tallqvist, p. 276a), compare the

¹ Compared by Tallqvist to 'Απραιος, the name of a later Median king, Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 33.

² See in general, Weber, pp. 1112, 1117, 1290, 1305. The name probably refers to the same person as *Da-ša*, *TA* 53, 58 (cf. Weber *ad loc.*).

³ *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, p. 14, note.

names *Bi-ri-ia-ma-za*, TA 7, 75; *Bi-ri-ia*, Clay, p. 65b; *Bi-ru(?)a-za*, TA 52, 45; *Bi-e-ri*, Clay, p. 166b, but see Tallqvist, p. 63a; *Bir-ia-ma-a*, Tallqvist, p. 64b.¹ Both Clay and Tallqvist recognize a Hittite-Mitannian element *bi-ri*. *Pi-ri-iz-zi*, TA 27, 89, may be related. For *da-aš* compare *Da-ša*, TA 53, 58; *Ta-aš-šu*, TA 56, 16 (probably identical with *Da-ša*, cf. Weber, p. 1117); *Da-a-šar-ti-i*, TA 162, 76; *Tešup-Tašša*, MDOG, 35, p. 27; Cassite *Tašši-gu-ru-maš*, Tallqvist, pp. 231b, 312b; *S²-my-r²-tw-s²*, Luckenbill, p. 101; possibly *Da-aš-ru*, TA 261, 3. 262, 3 and *Ta-aš-ru-mu*, Tallqvist, p. 231b, but see p. 309b. Compare also the Mitannian compound verb *hupp-u-tašš* (Bork p. 60) in *hu-up-pu-ta-aš-ša-a-al-la-a-an*, TA 24, II, 22. It is uncertain whether Cassite names such as *Ka-ra-ḫar-da-aš* and *Ka-ra-in-da-aš* (Tallqvist, pp. 112a, 312b) are to be compared. The Commagene names *Ku-un-da-aš-pi* and *Ku-uš-ta-aš-pi* are almost certainly not Aryan (as claimed by Meyer, ZVS, XLII, 18, and others), but Hittite. See Clay, pp. 38b, 180a, and Tallqvist, pp. xxiii, 290a, 291b. Delitzsch (p. 19) gives a Hittite word *da-aš-šu-da* "strong." Sundwall (pp. 65, 206) lists many names from Asia Minor under the elements *daza* and *taza*. Both Clay (pp. 30a, 34b, 171a) and Tallqvist (pp. 280b, 312b) recognize *taša* (*taššu*) or *daša* as Hittite-Mitannian. Further, *wa* is a common element at the end of Hittite-Mitannian names. Compare *Ta-ku*, TA 51, R. 2, with *Ta-ku-wa*, MDOG, 35, p. 34; *Ha-ra-bu*, TA 250, 44, with *Ha-ra-bu-wa*, TA 281, 13; *Bar-ḫu-i-lu(zu?)wa*, MDOG, 35, p. 19; *Ba-ia-wa*, TA 215, 3; *Wa-za-wa*, Tallqvist, pp. 245a, 280b. For *wa* as final in names from Asia Minor see Sundwall, pp. 277, 279. It seems probable that the name is made up of the elements *bi-ri*, *da-aš*, and *wa*. There is no need of searching for a Sanskrit etymology.

The names ending in *data*: *Šu-wa-ar-da-ta*, TA 271, 12. 278-84 (written *Šu-ar-da-tum*, TA 290, 6); *Ia-aš-da-ta*, TA 245, 12, 15. 248, 3; *Ar-da-ta*, TA 104, 10. 140, 12 (written *Ar-da-at*, TA 88, 5), have been compared to Sanskrit names in *datta*, Iranian *dāta* (written with *da-a* in later cuneiform), affixed to god-names. There are no *datta*-names in the Rig Veda. The first name has been compared by

¹ *Bi-ri-di-ia*, TA 242-48, may be with Clay (p. 167a) *bi-ri* plus the common Mitannian suffix *di* (Clay, p. 169a); compare *Ki-ti-ia* and *Ki-il-di-ia* (Bork, OLZ, 1906, col. 589, cf. col. 591). Tallqvist, p. 276a, comparing *Bu-ur-di-ia*, takes *birid* as an element and refers to names from Asia Minor in *prdde* (Sundwall, p. 184); cf. Weber, p. 1305.

Scheftelowitz (p. 271) to *Sūryadatta* or *Svardatta*¹ or, by an alternate etymology, derived from *su-vara-datta*, to which he ascribes the meaning "sohn eines rechtgläubigen." *Svar* or *suar*, which would be philologically possible, is a very unlikely word to be compounded with *datta* (as admitted by Meyer, p. 26). *Šu-wa-ar* is an impossible transcription of *Sūrya*. The variant *Šu-ar-da-tum* is explained by Luckenbill (p. 102) as due to confusion arising from the similarity of the name to Semitic names in *ātum*; an explanation of very questionable validity.² The variant points to *ta(tum)* as the ending. Are the elements *šuwa-arda-ta*, *šuwar-data*, or *šu-warda-ta*? For *šuwa* as a possible element see the Hittite god-name *Al-khi-šu-wa*, *JRAS*, 1909, p. 988, and the names from Asia Minor in *zuwa* (Sundwall, pp. 253-54). In the words given by Delitzsch (pp. 18, 23, 27-28)—*iš-šu-wa-ar*, *aš-ḫa-ni-šu-war*, *iš-tu(?) -ma-aš-šu-u-wa-ar*, *bu-nu-uš-šu-u-wa-ar* (compare *bu-nu-uš-ki-u-wa-ar*), *iš-ta-ma(?) -aš-šu-u-wa-ar*, *wa-aš-šu-u-wa-ar*—it is uncertain whether *šu* is to be taken, in any of the cases, with the ending *war* or *uwar*. Compare *e-šu-u-wa-ar* (p. 19), in which *e-šu* is certainly the first element. *War* or *uwar* is the ending of the Hittite infinitive (Delitzsch, p. 36). Compare also *Alpi-qa-wa-ar-ta* (*Babyloniaca*, II, 9), the name of a month. *Ia-aš-da-ta* is derived by Scheftelowitz (p. 271) from Sanskrit *Yaçodatta* (found only in the late Buddhist Lalitavistara). This implies the loss of *as* or *o* (if the sandhi law by which *as* changes to *o* before sonants was in operation at that time). Meyer (*ZVS*, XLII, 17) and Weber (p. 1309) derive from *Yazdadāta* (to which there is the same objection); but, as Meyer himself admits, the date is too early for *yazda*-names. The name *Zi-ir-dam-ia-aš-da*, *TA* 234, 11 (derived by Tallqvist [pp. 282b, 293b] from Avestan *zered* and *myazda*), which can hardly be separated from *Ia-aš-da-ta*, points to an element *aš-da* or *ia-aš-da*. For *ia* as the first element in Hittite names see *Ia-aš-hu-ru* and the other names given by Tallqvist (p. 286b), and compare Kretschmer (p. 369) and Sundwall (pp. 87, 285). Delitzsch (p. 42) gives *ia-war* "to do" as a common Hittite verb. The Old Babylonian *Ia-aš-di-ḫa-am-mu* (Tallqvist, p. 92b) and

¹ See also Weber, p. 1330; Meyer, *ZVS*, XIII, 18, 26; Hall, *PSBA*, 1909, p. 284; Tallqvist, p. xx.

² Compare, however, *Zu-ra-ta*, *TA* 85, 21, with *Ša-ra-a-tum*, *TA* 8, 19. According to Weber the names refer to the same person.

the many Canaanite names beginning with *ia* (Tallqvist, pp. 90 f.) raise the question as to whether the name may not be West Semitic. For possible *ašda*-names see *Aš-di-qu*, Clay, p. 59b (cf. the Hittite-Mitannian element *qu*, *gu*, *ku*, Clay, p. 30b, and Tallqvist, p. 277a); *Aš-te* and *Aš-tu-mi*, Clay, pp. 60, 163a; *Ašta-ma-aš-ti*, Tallqvist, p. 295a under *mašti*; *Aš-ta-qu-um-me*, Tallqvist, p. 31b. Compare also the names from Asia Minor in *astta* (Sundwall, p. 55). For *zi-ir* as an element in names from Ta 'annek such as *Zi-ra-ia* (?), *Zi-ir-ia* (*wa*)-ša, *Zi-ir* (?) *-ta-ši* (?), see Tallqvist, pp. 249a, 282b. Compare also *Zi-ri-ba-ša-ni*, TA 201, 4. City-names in *ta* (all like *Ar-da-ta* from Northern Syria),¹ such as *Ši-ga-ta*, TA 71, 25; *Ir-ka-ta*, TA 100, 3; *I-nam-ta*, TA 83, 38, make *data* very questionable as an element in the name *Ardata* at least.² There are, however, a few names from Asia Minor in *data* (Sundwall, pp. 65, 290 under *uwa*). For the common ending *ta* or *da* see Tallqvist, p. 310, and Sundwall, pp. 63, 198, 277.

Tu-uš-rat-ta, TA 19, 3; *Du-uš-rat-ta*, TA 20, 3. 21, 5. 22, IV, 44. 23, 4. 24, III, 103, 107. 25, IV, 66. 27, 2. 28, 4; *Tu-iš-e-rat-ta*, TA 17, 3 (*t* and *d* are not distinguished in Mitannian; see Bork, p. 16), is derived by Scheftelowitz (p. 270) from Sanskrit *duṣṛaddha* "hard to be conquered," by Konow (JRAS, 1911, p. 44) from Sanskrit *duṣṛatha* "he who has a bad chariot," by Tallqvist (p. xxii) from Sanskrit *tuvis* "strong, big," and *ratha* "chariot," disregarding the *e* of the variant. The variant militates against the Indo-Iranian solidarity of the name. The same Sanskrit word *ratha* has been suggested for *Zu-ra-ta*, TA 85, 21 (Konow, p. 44), but the name seems to be identical with *Ša-ra-a-tum*, TA 8, 19.³

For an element *du* or *tu* see *Tu-u-ia*, TA 162, 69; *Tu-u-khu-ub-bi-ya-il*, *The Tablet from Yuzgat*, p. 46; *Du-Tešup*, MDOG, 35, p. 43 n.; and Tallqvist, p. 278b. For an element *uš* compare *Uš-ḫi-it-te*, Tallqvist, p. 272b, with *An-ḫi-it-ti*; Mitannian *uš* "Gesandtschaft" and *par-uš* "to send" (Bork, p. 125). *Uš* is also the Mitannian suffix of the preterit (Bork, p. 48). For an element *duš* see *tuš-ša-ta*, TA 31, 22, and the Hittite verb *du-uš* in the forms *du-uš-ga-ra-az*

¹ See Weber, p. 1133.

² Derived by Scheftelowitz (p. 271) from Avestan *āra* plus *dāta*, Persian *Arādā*.

³ See Weber, pp. 1301, 1307. Clay (p. 173a) and Tallqvist (p. 282b) give names containing the element *zura* or *zuri*. See also Tallqvist under *sura*, p. 300b.

and *du-uš-ku-du-war* (Delitzsch, p. 38). For *ratta* compare *kal-la-ra-at-te-eš* (Delitzsch, p. 9, and remarks, p. 35); *pu-u-ra-rat-ti-ip-pi*, TA 22, III, 46 [(Messerschmidt). Knudtzon reads *p(u)-u-(r)a-rat(!)-ti-ip-pi*. Bork reads *purarattiwwe*]; *ka-rat-na-an-nu*, TA 22, II, 11, and *ka-rat-na-an-na-al-la*, TA 22, II, 25. The Cassite names in *rat*, like *Abi-rat-taš* (Tallqvist, p. 5b, and Clay, p. 39b), may be related. The forms *e-r(a)-at-ti-a-a(n)-(ni)*, TA 22, III, 46, and *e-rat-ti-i-in-ni-šu*, TA 22, IV, 4, may point to an element *eratta*.

Several Vedic names are formed with *ratha*, but *duṣratha* is not a likely name for a warrior. *Duṣraddha* would not mean, as Scheftelowitz says, "der unüberwindliche." The form would have to be the gerundive *duṣradhya*. The etymology of Tallqvist is linguistically impossible. The noun *tuvis* (neuter) is found only in the forms *tuviṣṭama* and *tuviṣmat*. As the first member of a compound the Vedic form of the adjective (which is of frequent occurrence) is *tuvi*. The only possible Vedic derivative would be *tuwiratha*.

His daughter is *Ta-tu-Ḫepa*; his sister, *Gi-li-Ḫepa*; his wife, *I-u-ni*, his son, *Mattiua¹* (and perhaps *A-bu-Tešup*, MDOG, 35, p. 38). His messengers to the king of Egypt are *Tum-ni-ip-ib-ri*, TA 17, 47; *Na-aḫ-ra-ma-aš-ši*, TA 21, 33 (Egyptian?—cf. Tallqvist, p. 297a); *Ma-zi-pa-a-at-li*, TA 29, 156; *Gi-li-ia*, TA 19, 25, and often; *Pi-ri-iz-zi*, TA 28, 12; *A-ša-li* or *A-ša-a-li*, TA 24, IV, 36, 29, 173; *Pu-up-ri*, TA 28, 12; *Ar-te-eš-šu-pa*, TA 29, 173. If he were, as is claimed, the king of a great Aryan state, or if there were any considerable number of Aryan nobles, one would expect some of the family names and some at least of the names of his confidential messengers to be Indo-Iranian.

Šu-tar-na, TA 182–84. 194, 9; *Šut-tar-na*, TA 29, 18; *Šu-ut-tar-na*, TA 24, I, 47; *Šutarna* and *Šutatarra*, MDOG, 35, p. 35, and OLZ, 1910, col. 294; S²-ty-r-n², Luckenbill, p. 102. The name has been compared by Scheftelowitz (p. 270) to Sanskrit *sutarāṇa* "schön fordernd." More than one person is involved,² and the names of of two sons, *Namiawaza* and *Aitakama*, are given.³ These are not Indo-Iranian. The forms with *šut* or *šu-ut* raise doubts as to the possibility of connection with Sanskrit *sutarāṇa* (which occurs once

¹ See TA 17, 5. 23, 7. 26, 60, and MDOG, 35, p. 37.

² See Weber, pp. 1280–81, 1286, 1289.

³ For the variant forms of the second name see Tallqvist, p. 77.

in the Rig Veda and means "easy to cross," a meaning which does not fit the proper name), although the doubling often seems to mean nothing for the pronunciation. These doubts deepen with the variant *Šutatarra*, especially when we find names like *Šu-u-ta*, *TA* 288, 19, 22; *Šu-ta*, *TA* 234, 14;¹ *Šu-ut-ti*, *TA* 5, 19; *Sutmar*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 33. Is the name to be divided *šu-tarna*, *šuta-arna*, *šuta-tarna* (*tarra*), or is the first element *šu-ut-ta* or *šut*, the second *tar* plus the suffix *na* or *ra*? For *arna* see *Ar-na* . . . and *Ar-nu-an-ta*, Tallqvist, pp. 30a, 271b, and Clay, p. 29b. Tallqvist (p. xxix) under Hittite *arna* adds the names *Liburna*, *Lubarna*, *Ha-mi-ir-ni*, *Šab-bur-ni*, and compares Mitannian *irn* "to rule" (Bork, p. 124). Compare also *Šu-ḫu-ur-ni*, Clay, p. 133a; *A-ri-pa-ar-na(ni)*, Tallqvist, pp. 29b, 302b (cf. *A-ri-pa*, Clay, p. 58b), and see Bork, *OLZ*, 1906, col. 589. There are also names in *arñna* from Asia Minor (Sundwall, pp. 55, 282, and Kretschmer, p. 406). For *tarna* see Sundwall, p. 198, and the Hittite words *tarnuwar* and *ziantarnanza* (Delitzsch, pp. 37, 45-46). Compare *Ma-ka-iš-tar-ra*, *OLZ*, 1904, col. 336, and *ta-a-ar-ra-ša*, *TA* 24, III, 122. *Tarra* may bear the same relation to *tarna* that *burra* does to *burna* in the Cassite names (cf. Tallqvist, p. 276b). If the element is *tar*, compare *Aš-tar-Til-la* and *Aš-ta-ra-aš* (Clay [p. 29b] and Tallqvist [p. xxx] take *Aštar* as an element). Compare also *Aš-tar-te*, *TA* 197, 10, and *Antaratli*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 33. Tallqvist (p. xxxi) takes *r* as an infix in the latter name but (p. 270a) lists the name under *antar*. The name *Ma-zi-pa-a-at-li*, *TA* 29, 156, proves that *atli* is an element. Delitzsch (pp. 19, 21-22) gives the Hittite words *ta-ri-ia-aš-ḫa-aš*, *ta-ru-ub-bu-ar*, and *ta-ru-ub-bi-eš-šar*. Are they related? There is also the Mitannian form *aš-ša-aš-ta-ra-an-ni*, *TA* 22, II, 46, which, if it does not contain the element *tar*, is another example of the element *ašda(ta)* referred to above. For the common suffix *na* see Clay, p. 185b; Tallqvist, p. 295b; Bork, *OLZ*, 1906, col. 588.

The element *tar* may be involved in the name *Ša-uš-ša-tar*, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 35, 37, 52, and possibly *TA* 194, 10 (cf. Weber,

¹ Scheftelowitz' comparison of this name with Sanskrit *suta* "son" means nothing. "Son" is not a convincing proper name. Tallqvist (p. xxii) compares Sanskrit *sūta* "charioteer" or "bard." The word does not occur in the Rig Veda. The regular word there for "charioteer" is *sārathi*. Scheftelowitz' further comparison of *Šu-ta-at-na*, *TA* 8, 19 (the same person as *Za-ta-at-na* or *Zi-ta-at-na*, *TA* 233, 4, 234, 3, 235, 5, cf. Weber, pp. 1027, 1302-3) with Sanskrit *Suta-tana* "sohn des Suta" (that is, "son's son"), or, as Tallqvist translates it, "to whom offspring has been born," is impossible. Tallqvist's further suggestion *Sūtatana* "son of a charioteer" has no more validity.

p. 1289). The second element has been compared to Indo-Iranian *kšatra*,¹ which seems to be reflected in later cuneiform as *ša-tar*. The name can hardly be separated from the Mitannian god-name *Ša-uš-kaš*, *TA* 24, I, 76.² Clay (pp. 33b, 202b) suggests that *ša-tar* may be involved in the name *Šut-tar-na*; but (pp. 34a, 202b) implies that an element *šu-ut-tar* may be involved in both names. The first element seems to be *ša-uš*. To explain this Konow (p. 44) and Tallqvist (p. xxii) compare Sanskrit *Sāukšatra*, a patronymic from *Sukšatra*. There are no certain *kšatra*-names in the Rig Veda. *Sukšatra* occurs once as a proper name in the late Vishnu Purāṇa. *Sāukšatra* is a purely hypothetical word. For *ša* as a Mitannian hypocoristic ending see Ungnad, *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 11–12, and Tallqvist, p. 307a. There is a possible trace of *ša-tar* as a Hittite element in *an-tu-uḫ-ša-tar* (Delitzsch, p. 29); but compare *an-tu-uḫ-šu-uš*, *TA* 31, 25. At any rate, this word and *al-wa-an-za-tar* (Delitzsch, p. 29) strengthen the evidence for an element *tar*.

Šu-ba-an-di or *Šu-ba-an-du*, *TA* 301–6 (*di* in four out of five occurrences) has been compared by Scheftelowitz (p. 271) to Sanskrit *Subandhu*, which means “good friend,” and is not found as a proper name in the Rig Veda. Compare *Bi-en-te-ši-na* or *Banti-šinni*, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 24, 45–46, and Tallqvist, p. 275b (for the second element see Ungnad, *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 13–14, Luckenbill, p. 98, and cf. Winckler, *MVAG*, IV (1913), p. 100); *Pa-an-da-nu*, *Pa-an-di*, *Pa-an-di-ia*, Clay, p. 116a; *Pi-an-ti-ia* and *Pi-in-di-ia*, Ungnad, *BA*, VI, 5 p. 11; *be-en-ti-en*, *TA* 24, I, 103; *pa-an-te-e*, *TA* 232, 10; *Ia-mi-ba-an-da*, Tallqvist, p. 91b (cf. *Ia-mi-u-ta*, *TA* 177. 2). See the discussion of Gustavs, *OLZ*, 1912, p. 300 (cf. Bork, *OLZ*, 1910, col. 591), who compares Carian *banda* “victory” (Kretschmer, p. 376). Tallqvist (p. 269b) connects the name with an element *andu*, but (p. xxix) refers to the Hittite element *banda* (with which he connects the name *Ia-mi-ba-an-da* [p. 275a]). Further, on p. 275b he connects *Bi-en-ti-šinni* with an element *banti*, and on p. 302a recognizes an element *penti* (which he connects with several of the names given above) with cross-references to *banda* and *banti*; and yet (p. xxii) he considers *Šu-ba-an-di* to be Indo-Iranian!

¹ Winckler, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 37, 52; Meyer, *ZVS*, XLII, p. 25; Tallqvist, pp. 301a, 310a.

² Sayce, *JRAS*, 1909, p. 1107. Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 50, derives from *Sala* plus *skā!*

A-ru-na-aš-ši-il or *U-ru-w-na-aš-ši-el*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 51,¹ has been compared by Winckler to the Vedic god-name *Varuṇa*. *Wa* is a common element in Hittite-Mitannian names. If it has any force here, the equation with *Varuṇa* loses all plausibility. The phonetic difficulty in the first syllable should perhaps not be pressed; but other queries arise. Is the final element *aš-ši-il* or *ši-il*? The names *Ha-at-tu-ši-li*, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 19–20, 27; *Biassili*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 39; *Ši-li-ia*, *Še-el-lu*, *Si-li-i*, *Si-il-Tešup*, *Si-li-a-ra*, Tallqvist, pp. 299b, 308a, and p. 282a under *zil*, *sil* (cf. Clay, pp. 33a, 34a), prove the existence of an element *ši-il* or *ši-li*. *Aš-ši-il* has been compared to the Tocharian (Kuchean) comitativus *assäl*.² This widely accepted derivation is unconvincing. The suffix is not Indo-European. Tocharian is an absolutely independent Indo-European language, the first records of which date from many centuries after the Boghazköi documents. There is not the slightest evidence for a Tocharian-Indo-Iranian period. Whether names like *Ša-ru-na*, *TA* 241, 4; *Bat-ru-na*, *TA* 78, 19;³ *Bu-uš-ru-na*, *TA* 197, 13. 199, 13, are comparable, is very doubtful. There is found in Egyptian records the name of a town near Megiddo transcribed ^c*-rw-n* (Aruna, cf. Breasted, *BAR*, II, 421). There is also a Hittite name transcribed 'Aruna by Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, p. 12, n. 1. Further, there is an Egyptian name from the twelfth century B.C. transcribed *wrn* by Burchardt, *Altkananäischen Fremdworte*, II, No. 312; *w^c-r²-n* by Breasted, *BAR*, IV, 437. Comparisons with these three names are just as plausible as the comparison with *Varuṇa*. The name *Ariwana*, *OLZ*, 1910, col. 292, may be a parallel. For initial *ar*, *ara*, *ari*, and *uri* see Tallqvist, pp. 270b, 271a. Before *wa* the vowel might well show the *u* form. Compare names from Asia Minor in *aru* or *ara* (Sundwall, pp. 53–54, 282), especially *ara-wa-(a)ñna*. For an element *wana* see Tallqvist, p. 281a, and Sundwall, p. 239. *Ar(i)-uwa-na* is a possible division. For *wa* or *uwa* see

¹ For *il* versus *el* compare *Gi-li-ia* with *Gi-el-Tešup*, Tallqvist, pp. 79b, 80a; *Ki-li-Tešup* with *Ki-el-ra-nu*, Tallqvist pp. 114b, 115a.

² For the form see Sieg and Siegling, *Sitz. Berl. Ak.*, 1909, p. 922. For the comparison see especially Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, 1909, No. 9, p. 111; von Schroeder, *WZKM*, 1909, pp. 348–49; Winternitz, *Globus*, 1909, p. 125; Meyer, *Sitz. Berl. Ak.*, 1909, p. 16, and *Geschichte*, I, ed. 2, p. 802; Hoffmann-Kutschke, *Recueil de travaux*, 1912, p. 7; Feist, *Europa im Lichte der Vorgeschichte*, p. 45, n. 2; Hommel, *Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1909, 757–58.

³ To be read so in place of Knudtson's *Be-ru-na*. See Dhorme, *Rev. bibl.*, 1909, pp. 509 f.; Weber, *ad loc.*

Tallqvist, p. 280b, and Sundwall, p. 236. Compare *Ši-nu-a-ru-wa-at-ti*, the name of a god.¹ Of doubtful validity for comparison are *a-ra-u-wa-ni-iš* "bright" (Delitzsch, p. 42) and the Mitannian root *uru* (Bork, "annehmen," Messerschmidt, "schicken"). Compare the city-name *U-ru-li-e-il*, *The Tablet from Yuzgat*, p. 66. Of frequent occurrence in this document is the illative ending *l* at the end of city-names (translated by Sayce "from"). Is *aš-ši-il* to be resolved into *aš-ši* and the ending *l*?

In-dar or *In-da-ra*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 51, has been compared to Vedic *Indra*. There is, however, the Cassite name *Kur-in-da-ar* (Dhorme, *Rev. bibl.*, 1911, p. 277, and Bork, *OLZ*, 1911, col. 473) and the Mitannian(?) name *In-dar-di-ia* (Clay, p. 89b). See also *Tarḫu-un-da-ra-uš*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 40. This name is resolved by Tallqvist (pp. xxxi, 280a) into *Tarḫu* and *dara* with inserted *r*. It may be *Tarḫu* and *in-da-ra*. For *dara* as an element see Tallqvist, p. 280a, and Sundwall, p. 64. For *in* compare *Ini-Tešup*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 28. For Mitannian *en*, Elamite *in* "lord," see Bork, p. 81; Tallqvist, p. 269a; and Luckenbill, p. 99. The resolution into *inda* (Tallqvist, p. 269b) and *ra* (Tallqvist, p. 305a, and Sundwall, p. 277) is possible but not likely.

Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il, *MDOG*, 35, p. 51, has been compared by Winckler with Vedic *Mitra*. Cuny, *Rev. ét. anc.*, 1909, p. 279, takes the occurrence of the name here in a treaty as proof of Meillet's theory (*JA*, II (1907), 143) that *Mitra* was originally a god of contracts. Compare *Šu-mi-it-ta*, *TA* 57, 13, and Cassite *Mi-it-li*, Clay, p. 39a, in the light of Hittite *Ka-ra-aš-mi-it-ti-ya-il* and *Ki-iš-mi-it-ta-il* (*The Tablet from Yuzgat*, pp. 45, 47). Compare the element *mita* (Tallqvist, p. 295a), with which the name *Mitanni* itself seems to be connected.² For *ra* as final see Tallqvist, p. 305a. Ungnad, *BA*, VI, 5, p. 131, reports from Dilbat a place-name *Ugar-Mi-it-ra*. The occurrence of *Mi-it-ra* (*WAI*, III, 69, 63) before 606 B.C. is connected with this name from Boghaz-köi by Winckler (*Abh. Berl. Ak.*, III (1914), 76 n.): "Die ersten Arier, welche in den Gesichtskreis der Assyrer traten, schienen die Meder (seit dem 9. Jahrhundert)

¹ *JRAS*, 1909, p. 973. For *wa-at-ti* as an element compare *Te-u-wa-at-ti*, *TA* 53, 35 (classed under *uwa* by Tallqvist, p. 280b), and *bu-wa-at-ti-iš*, Delitzsch, p. 25.

² Hoffmann-Kutschke, *Zentralblatt für Anthropologie*, 1910, p. 267, traces *Mithra* or *Mitra* in the name *Mitanni*.

gewesen zu sein und deren Gottheiten konnten nicht in einer Liste Aufnahme gefunden haben." This argument is by no means conclusive. The name proves nothing for the much earlier Boghaz-köi period. For the possibility that Egyptian *mtr-sm* (of the nineteenth dynasty) represents *Mitra*, see Burchardt, *Altkananäischen Fremdworte*, II, No. 544; and *OLZ*, 1912, pp. 153-54; W. Max. Müller, *OLZ*, 1912, pp. 252-54. The occurrence of the name *Mitra* in Egypt does not prove its Indo-Iranian origin. See also the suggestion of Fossey, *Mithra*, *Mitraššil*, *Mithrašul*, *JA*, I (1910), 523, with the criticism of Combe, *RHR*, LXIV (1911), 317.

Na-ša-at-ti-ia-an-na, *MDOG*, 35, p. 51, has been compared by Winckler (after Andreas) with *Nāsatyāu* (dual), a Vedic epithet of the Aṇvins. Cuny, *Rev. ét. anc.*, 1909, p. 280, takes the occurrence of the name here in a treaty as proof of the etymology *na-asatya* "not untrue." *Anna* has been compared by Bloomfield, von Schroeder, Meyer, Hommel, and others¹ to the Tocharian (Kuchean) plural suffix *anä*. Compare, however, *ma-ri-a-an-na-ar-ti-la-an*, *TA* 24, III, 32; *Maš-ad-du-i-i-ra-a-an-na-at-an*, *TA* 24, IV, 12; *A-ra-ap-ša-a-an-na*, *TA* 22, II, 14; *ḫa-at-ta-an-na-aš*, *TA* 32, 16; *kat-ti-in-na-šu-nu*, *TA* 25, II, 42; *ḫutanna* and *iwrenna* (discussed by Gustavs, *OLZ*, 1912, cols. 244-45); *Arinna* or *A-ri-in-na*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 53;² *Ilānirinna*, *MDOG*, 35, p. 19, and *OLZ*, 1906, col. 588; *e-ru-uš-ki-i-in-na*, *TA* 24, I, 97, 100. Compare also *Zi-iš-an-na-il*, *U-an-wa-an-na-aš*, and *An-na-an-na-aš* (*The Tablet from Yuzgat*, pp. 34, 42, 46, 52, 65, 67) and the remark on *nna* (*ibid.*, p. 33) in Hittite *Ḫal-di-in-na* or *Ḫal-ki-in-na*. For the Mitannian participial ending *anna* and the object suffix of the second person *anni* (*nni*, *nna*), see Bork, pp. 64-65, and Gustavs, *OLZ*, 1912, col. 245. For *enna*, *enni*, *inni*, see Bork, *OLZ*, 1906, col. 588; Clay, p. 158; Tallqvist, pp. 269b, 270a; Gustavs, *OLZ*, 1912, cols. 354, 356. Compare also the forms in *anni* given under the next name and the names in *añna* from Asia Minor (Sundwall, pp. 41, 267). The relation of all these forms is uncertain; but *anna* and *anni* are undoubtedly Hittite-Mitannian suffixes. Clay, pp. 186a, 189b, suggests *na-i* plus infixed *šattu* or *šatti*. For *na-i* see *Na-i-še-ri*, Clay, p. 110b, and Tallqvist,

¹ See especially Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, p. 6.

² See also *Babyloniaca*, IV, 214; *PSBA*, 1910, p. 191; *The Tablet from Yuzgat*, p. 45 (Sayce takes Hittite *ari* to mean "great," p. 33).

p. 166b. For *šatti* see *Šat-tu-a-ra*, Clay, p. 131b; *Ša-ti-ia*, TA 187, 3;¹ *Ša-at-ti-ia* given by Gustavs (OLZ, 1915, col. 156), who connects all these names with the Mitannian verb *ša-a-at-ti*, *ša-a-at-ti-la-an*, *ša-at-tu-u-ša*, TA 24, II, 67. 24, III, 108. 24, I, 64.² Delitzsch (p. 34) gives a Hittite form *šattiš*. Is there any relation between *na-ša* of *Na-ša-at-ti-ia-an-na* and *na-aš* of *A-ru-na-aš-ši-il* (or *na-aš* of *Kha-at-di-na-aš-ta*, translated "land" by Sayce, *The Tablet from Yuzgat*, p. 39)? A form *bi-iš-ša-at-ti* is found in *The Tablet from Yuzgat*, Obv. 34. There is a Cappadocian form *Ta-ta-li-i-sa-ti-(i?)a*, *Liverpool Annals*, I, 61.

Mar-ri-an-ni-šu-nu, *Mar-ia-an-nu*, *Mar-ia-ni-šu*, *Ma-ri-an-na-šu*, OLZ, 1910, cols. 292-93, 295, has been equated by Winckler (after Andreas) with Sanskrit *marya*, a Vedic epithet of the Maruts. Compare *Mariana*, Meyer, *Reich und Kultur des Chetiter*, p. 12, n. 1. Is the first element *mari* or *mar-ia*? The connection between this word and *ma-ri-a-an-na-ar-ti-la-an*, TA 24, III, 32, is obvious. For the ending compare *Wu-šug-ga-an-ni*, OLZ, 1910, col. 296; *i-du-ug-ga-an-ni-ma-ku*, OLZ, 1910, col. 295; *a-aš-ši-a-an-ni*, TA 22, II, 39; *a-ra-aš-ša-a-an-ni*, TA 22, IX, 22; *e-ra-at-ti-a-an-ni*, TA 22, III, 46; *gu-uš-tap-pa-a-an-ni-šu-nu*, TA 22, I, 18; *u-ri-an-ni*, OLZ, 1906, col. 632; *u-ru-uk-ma-an-ni-šu-nu*, TA 22, III, 44; *ku-ri-in-ni*, OLZ, 1910, col. 296; *Lu-ri-an-nu*, Clay, pp. 32a, 103b; *aš-ša-aš-ta-ra-an-ni*, TA 22, II, 46; *Waraganni*, MDOG, 35, p. 38; the name *Mitanni* itself. For the first element compare *Sutmar*, MDOG, 35, p. 33; the city-name *Mari*, OLZ, 1914, col. 343; the king *Mari*, *Rev. ass.*, 1914, p. 136, and OLZ, 1910, col. 300; Cassite names like *Ḫaš-mar*, Clay, p. 175b, and Tallqvist, p. 87a (derived by Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 36, from *ḫa-šmar*); *mara-tu-li* or *mara-du-ur*, TA 24, III, 10. Compare also the names *Mar-la-rim(-me)*, *Mar-la-ar-me*, *?A-bi-ma-ra-la* (Tallqvist, p. 294b), and the names from Asia Minor in *marla* (Sundwall, p. 151). For *la* as a common final see Tallqvist, p. 291b. Egyptian *mryn* (Burchardt, *Altkananäischen Fremdworte*, II, No. 470, and OLZ, 1910, col. 297) is doubtless related, but proves nothing as to the origin of the word. Compare names from Asia Minor in *mar* or *mara* (Kretschmer, p. 366, and Sundwall, pp. 142 f.).

¹ Derived by Scheftelowitz (p. 271) and by Tallqvist (p. 310a) from Sanskrit *satya* "true."

² See also Clay, p. 202b, under *šat-tu*.

Until the nature of these *mar*-forms has been fully worked out the comparison to Sanskrit *marya* is over-hasty.

The full text of the passage in which the names in question occur reads as follows (OLZ, 1910, col. 296):

Tešub (Herr) von Himmel und Erde: Sin und Šamaš, Sin von Haran, Dam-ki, Tešub, der Herr des *ku-ri-in-ni* der Stadt Kapa, der Herr der Stadt *u-te-ḫu-da-a-ni*, Ea bel *ḫa-ši-ši*.

ilu Gir ilu gurda Anu und Antu Enlil und Nunlil (*ilāni*) *mi-it-ra-aš-ši-el* (*ilāni*) *a-ru-na-aš-ši-el ilu in-da-ra* (*ilāni*) *na-š(a)-at-ti-ia-an-na*.

ilu ellat ilu ša-ma-an-mi-nu-ḫi, Tešub, Herr der Stadt *Wa-šug-ga-an-ni*, Tešub, Herr der Stadt *Iš-ku(ma?)-ri-bi*, der Stadt *Ir-ri-te ilu na-ḫa-bi ilu šu-ru-ḫi ilu u* (ištar?) *ilu u?*

Šala, Nin-egal ilu nin-a-ša-ak-ki, Iškara, ilu maš-da-ḫi der Stadt *Šu-u-da* die Berge, Flüsse und Quellen, die Götter von Himmel und Erde.

Winckler, *MVAG*, 1913, No. IV, p. 76, says of the four suspected names, "Sie werden auch an hervorragender Stelle aufgeführt." In what the importance of their position consists it is impossible for me to see. In the Mitannian letters to Egypt the following gods are invoked: Tešup, Amanu, Šauskaš, Šimike (cf. *PSBA*, 1907, p. 92), Eašarri, Šamaš, and Ištar (see Weber, pp. 1018, 1047, 1056-57). If the four supposed Indo-Iranian gods played any large part in the alleged Indo-Iranian state of Mitanni, or rather in the religion of the Aryan ruling aristocracy, one would expect them to be invoked in these letters too. They must have been relatively unimportant. Halévy (*Rev. sémi.*, 1908, p. 247) suggests that Mitraš, Uruwnaš, and Našatti are names of tribes. Considering the context this is a plausible suggestion. The use of *ilāni* in the plural in three cases, with *indar ilu* in the singular, has raised a query. This has been answered by a comparison with the Hebrew use of *elohim* in the plural (Weber, p. 1190, and Winckler, *MDOG*, 35, pp. 51, 54). The use of the plural sign before the name of the king of Egypt is common in the Amarna letters, but that is not a parallel usage. The use of the plural in *TA* 96, 4. 97, 3. 189, R. 14, is not parallel (cf. Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarna Briefe*, p. 36). There is no proof at all that this was a Mitannian usage. Until certain instances are found we must look for some definite reason for the use of the plural in these three cases. Is it absolutely certain that the signs transliterated *ilu* and *ilāni* always had that value in Mitannian? If it were a common Mitannian

custom to use the plural *ilāni* with a god-name in the singular, why is the usage confined to these particular names? Why not with Indar or with other names in the same document? Why not with some of the god-names in the Amarna letters from Mitanni? If the Ḫarri were Indo-Iranians and had a strong sense of racial difference,¹ it is strange that they should have given up the dual completely, especially in a crystallized cult-name like Nāsatyāu.²

The more I mull over the obscure Mitannian letter, the cuneiform Hittite documents, and the more obscure Mitannian and Hittite proper names, the more I wonder whether all the alleged Indo-Iranian names are not Mitannian or Hittite. In the face of the obvious Mitannian and Hittite parallels for every element in every name I can see no convincing proof for any of the suggested Indo-Iranian etymologies. Many of the comparisons made above are doubtless fortuitous. Further investigation may furnish better parallels and admit of a better resolution of the elements. We might with as much reason as there is behind the proposed Indo-Iranian etymologies compare *Pu-u-ru*, TA 289, 38, with Sanskrit *Pūru*; *ba-ra-ta-aš*, Clay, p. 167b, with Sanskrit *Bharata*; *Ia-ma*, TA 230, 2, with Vedic *Yama*; *Wi-id-ia*, TA 320-26, with Sanskrit *vidyā* "knowledge"; *Da-aš-ru*, TA 261, 3. 262, 3, with Sanskrit *daçru* "tear"—a sorrowful knight Tristram; *Ia-šu-ia*, TA 256, 18, with *Joshua*; *Šu-na-ma*, TA 250, 43, with Sanskrit *sunāma* "possessing a good name"; *Up-pa-ra-a-a*, MDOG, 35, p. 28, with Sanskrit *upara*.

The solution of the problem rests with the unpublished documents from Boghaz-köi. Since I have no knowledge of the Semitic languages, I have had to work entirely at second hand and heap up random comparisons in the hope that some competent Semitic scholar will criticize and carry on the Mitannian and Hittite comparisons to some certain conclusion.

¹ Ḫarri was not coextensive with Mitanni, as proved by passages such as "Mat-tuaza, and we the Ḫarri, and the country Mitanni" (Winckler, *OLZ*, 1910, col. 297, and *MVAG*, 1913, No. IV, pp. 63, 66).

² That *ilāni mi-it-ra-aš-ši-el ilāni a-ru-na-aš-ši-el* could (with Bloomfield) represent the Vedic dual Mitrāvarunā is extremely improbable.